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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 11235 092358Z

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PAGE 02 MOSCOW 11235 092358Z

1. SUMMARY. PRAVDA AUGUST 6 ARTICLE ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS

BY PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM EDITOR ZARODOV SOUNDS MOST MILITANT NOTE HEARD RECENTLY IN THEORETICAL MATERIAL ON POWER STRUGGLE FOR NON-RULING PARTIES, AND JARS WITH POST-CSCE ERA OF GOOD FEELINGS SOVIETS PROBABLY WANT. WE DOUBT THIS DISCORDANT MILITANCY INTENDED TO SIGNAL OVERALL IDEOLOGICAL HARDENING OR EVEN REVERSAL OF QUASI-POPULAR FRONT TACTICS GAINING GROUND IN WEST. ALTHOUGH IT TENDS TO SUPPORT CUNHAL AND SIDESWIPE CEAUSESCU, EMPHASIS ON CP "HEGEMONY" AND "INDEPENDENCE" AND DANGERS OF OPPORTUNISM IN DEMOCRATIC COALITIONS ADDRESSES PROBLEMS THEY DO NOT HAVE, BUT WHICH WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES, ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN, MAY. END SUMMARY.

2. PRAVDA ON AUGUST 6 CARRIES A LENGTHY POLEMIC ON "LENINIST STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE" BY K. ZARADOV, PRAGUE-BASED EDITOR OF PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM. OSTENSIBLY WRITING TO HONOR THE SEVENTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE APPEARANCE OF LENIN'S "TWO TACTICS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION," ZARODOV NOTES THAT IT READS EVEN TODAY AS THOUGH IT CONCERNED MATTERS "DEVELOPING BEFORE OUR VERY EYES" AND IS IN FACT A SERIES OF THEORETICAL GENERALIZATIONS APPLICABLE ON A WORLD-WIDE BASIS.

3. THE FIRST LESSON, ZARDOV MAKES CLEAR, IS THAT "HEGEMONY OF THE PROLETARIAT"--THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY IN ANY COALITION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES--IS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE (FIRST) DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, AS WELL AS FOR THAT OF THE (SECOND) SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. THIS LENINIST IDEA, ACCORDING TO ZARODOV, CLEARLY REFUTES "MODISH OPPORTUNISTIC CONCEPTS" THAT THE PROLETARIAT AND ITS PARTY SHOULD NOT RECEIVE "THE LEVERS OF POWER" EXCEPT AS SOME "CONCLUDING ACT" RESULTING FROM A "NATIONAL REFERENDUM". HE EXPLAINS THAT FOR LENINISTS, "MAJORITY" IS A POLITICAL CONCEPT, NOT AN ARITHMETIC ONE, AND THAT A MAJORITY IS FORMED AS A RESULT OF REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS WHICH MAY NOT ACCORD WITH THE EVERYDAY "PEACEFUL" NORMS OF BOURGEOIS LIFE.

4. THE SECOND MAIN POINT, AFTER COMMUNIST HEGEMONY, IS COMMUNIST SEPARALENESS. ZARODOV ARGUES THAT "ONE OF THE BASIC LINES OF OPPORTUNISM HAS ALWAYS CONSISTED OF, AND TODAY CONSISTS OF, THE CONTENTION THAT THE PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT SHOULD HAVE NO

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11235 092358Z

(CLEARLY DEFINED) POSITION OF ITS OWN IN THE GENERAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT." SUCH AN IDEA IS MENSHEVISTIC, HE CONTINUES, AND IS PRESENTED WITH THE MISTAKEN AIM OF AVOIDING FRIGHTENING OFF THE BOURGEOIS FROM THE REVOLUTION. "CONTEMPORARY COMPROMISERS", ZARODOV CONTENDS, "NO LONGER GIVE EVEN LIP SERVICE TO THE INDEPENDENCE

(SAMOSTOYATEL'NOST') OF THE PROLETARIAN PARTY. THEY WANT TO DISSOLVE IT IN AN IDEOLOGICALLY AMORPHOUS ORGANIZATION, IN ANY

UNION CREATED ON THE BASIS OF THE FORMULA OF 'UNITY FOR UNITY'S SAKE.'

5. BY WAY OF COUNTERPOINT, ZARODOV NOTES THAT "EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN" THAT THE REVOLUTION "DOES NOT NECESSARILY HAVE TO BE ARMED" AND THAT A PEACEFUL TRANSITION IS "CONSIDERED BY MARXIST-LENINISTS TO BE PREFERABLE." HE ALSO DEFENDS COMMUNISTS AGAINST "THOSE WHO CRITICIZE COMMUNISM FROM THE RIGHT, CALL IT AN ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY" BY POINTING TO LENIN'S CONTENTION THAT THE INTERIM STAGE OF DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION CANNOT BE BYPASSED. FINALLY, THERE IS NO ATTACK ON THE CONCEPT OF A COALITION OF DEMOCRATIC FORCES AS SUCH, SO LONG AS IT IS LED BY THE PROLETARIAT'S PARTY.

6. COMMENT. ZARODOV'S LINE ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS STRIKES US AS MORE MILITANT THAN OTHER RECENT OFFERINGS. PONOMAREV'S LENGTHY ARTICLE IN THE JULY KOMMUNIST, FOR EXAMPLE, POINTS OUT APPROVINGLY THAT THERE ARE MANY PROVISIONS IN (NON-RULING) CP PROGRAMS FOR "INTERIM STAGES AND TRANSITION FORMS" ON THE ROAD TO SOCIALISM IN A POPULAR GOVERNMENT. ZARODOV, ON THE OTHER HAND, EMPHASIZES RAPID MOVEMENT "WITHOUT DELAY" THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC STAGE AND THE COLLAPSIBILITY OF THE TWO STAGES INTO ONE, MAKING THE USEFULNESS OF INTERIM FORMS QUESTIONABLE. AND HE EMPHASIZES "IT IS BECOMING CLEAR THAT UNDER CONTEMPORARY CONDITIONS A TRULY POPULAR REVOLUTION IS IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT SUCH HEGEMONY" (I.E. OF THE PROLETARIAT'S PARTY.)

7. WE CAN ONLY SPECULATE AS TO THE ADDRESSES OF THIS MILITANCY. THE ARTICLE MAY PERHAPS BE INTENDED BY THE SOVIETS TO SERVE AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF IDEOLOGICAL INVIGORATION WHICH THEY SAY HAS BEEN MADE NECESSARY BY DETENTE BUT WE SEE NO COMPELLING INTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THIS. NEITHER DO WE SEE ANY DIRECT CONNECTION BETWEEN IT AND CSCE. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 MOSCOW 11235 092358Z

ADMITTEDLY, THIS IS A PARTICULARLY AWKWARD MOMENT, SO SOON AFTER SIGNATURE OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT, TO MOUNT THE PULPIT WITH A SERMON FOR NON-RULING PARTIES ON THE TACTICS OF THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER. WHILE "HEGEMONY" AND "SEPARATENESS" WILL PERHAPS SHORE UP THE CUNHAL PORTUGUESE LEADERSHIP AGAINST COMMUNIST CRITICS OUTSIDE (AND POSSIBLY INSIDE) PORTUGAL, AND MAY POSSIBLY CONSTITUTE A SIDESWIPE AT ROMANIAN THEORETICAL ATTEMPTS TO INTEGRATE NON-SOCIALIST FORCES INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, ZARODOV SO CLEARLY CONCENTRATES ON THE DANGERS OF OPPORTUNISM IN A POPULAR FRONT CONTEXT THAT HE WOULD SEEM TO BE CONCERNED WITH WESTERN EUROPE, AND ESPECIALLY THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN PARTIES. HOWEVER, WE REGARD THE ARTICLE AS MAINLY DESIGNED TO SET CLEAR LIMITS TO (APPROVED) WE POPULAR FRONT TACTIC, RATHER THAN CANCEL IT. IN ANY CASE, WE ARE PUZZLED BY THIS ASPECT AND WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS ON THE ARTICLE SINCE DEBATE ON REVOLUTIONARY

TACTICS WILL BE PARTICULARLY SIGNIFICANT AS THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST
PARTY CONFERENCE DRAWS NIGH.
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